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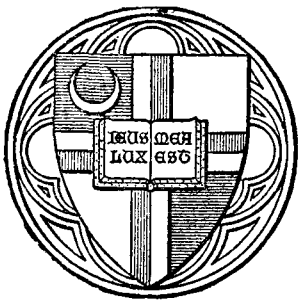

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

TOWARD A FOREIGN POLICY

AS THE SUMMIT meeting becomes increasingly debated, the need for a more definite, developed foreign policy becomes clear even to the casual reader of the daily papers. Even if the public debates at a meeting can be minimized in favor of private, responsible discussions, some open declaration of general policy will be inevitable. Since our recent maneuverings in world affairs, however, even those who are hopeful can scarcely be confident.

In a recent issue of the N.Y. *Times,* James Reston compared President Roosevelt's techniques for mixing martinis with President Eisenhower's method of arranging the summit meeting, and the comparison can be extended. Supplied with a varied array of bottles, glasses and measures, Mr. Roosevelt would measure out, ever so carefully, the proper amount of gin. Following the same rite, he would then measure and introduce a small amount of vermouth. Finally, "with a whoop and a flourish," and straight from the bottle, he would splash a great quantity of gin into the mixture.

President Eisenhower, according to Mr. Reston, has followed the same procedure. After carefully stating conditions and qualifications which must be met before a profitable meeting could take place, the President suddenly upset all of these considerations not only by accepting conditions he had previously rejected, but by adding more crippling suggestions of his own. The same comparison might well be extended to many aspects of our foreign policy. Although our statements of policy are admittedly less exact than Mr. Roosevelt's measure for the martini, they do exist. We assert strong attitudes, form pacts and declare doctrines. But we can, quite suddenly, engage in an action which seems to undo all previous efforts, which arouses distrust in neutral countries and which alienates allies. Our present position in the Middle East is but the latest example of such behavior.

Admittedly the questions of foreign policy are of immense complexity and critics have by far the easier task. It is easier to point out inconsistencies than to suggest acceptable, alternate courses of action. Nevertheless one can expect our foreign policy to be definite, consistent, and sufficiently flexible to accommodate new situations. And this remains true even though freedom of negotiation demands that some areas of policy be kept secret.

THERE ARE minimum demands that one can place on a formulation of foreign policy: it must show an awareness of the major, overarching problems of international relations and it must establish a framework in terms of which the problems can be met. All people will not see the problems in the same way, of course, nor will those who agree concerning the problems always agree about the means of coping with them.

While this is borne out by a recent booklet, *Foreign Policy and the Free Society* (one of a series put out by the Fund for the Republic), the booklet itself copes with the large, insistent issues. For instance, both Mr. Walter Millis and Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., the principal contributors, see the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union as a determinant of much of our policy. While they share large areas of agreement, they state the basis of conflict in noticeably different terms and would offer different proposals to deal with it. It is interesting to compare the conclusions these two men reach, although conclusions without the arguments which support them inevitably do an injustice to the presentation.

Although stating that those who exclude war as a means of overcoming differences face problems as

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severe as those who see no possibility of peace with a Communist Soviet Union, Mr. Millis says that, "of the two general courses, that which is willing to explore the possibilities of peace or accommodation is more hopeful than that which begins with a denial that peace is possible." Father Murray, on the other hand, after offering a description of the Soviet Union, said that the often discussed policy of "disengagement" was not practical, that "only the very opposite policy is safe—a policy of continuous engagement at every point, on all levels of action, by both tactical and strategic moves." Since Russia acts upon doctrine which is clear and established—one of maximum security and minimum risk—our own, adapted to counter it, should be, says Father Murray, one of minimum security and maximum risk.

It would be idle to assert the superiority of either of these views without a fuller discussion. What can be stressed, however, is that each involves an overall view of the problems to be faced and suggests some course of action. They provide frameworks for the elaboration of a definite policy. They spotlight the failings of present American policy. We are entering, apparently, into negotiations with the Russians and, as Father Murray states, "negotiation is simply the means of getting what you want." But first we must know what we want, and this, to all appearances, we are still uncertain of. We cannot forever postpone the demands of our position, the formulation of a consistent, feasible policy.

NEW SPIRAL?

IN DEFENSE of the Administration's steady refusal to take any major steps to provide employment and head off the 1957-1958 recession was the comforting sentiment that a "breather" would be a good thing for the country's economy. According to this theory, continuous boom and expansion in the United States could only lead to a real crash, while a moderate decline in economic activity would be helpful in discouraging overoptimistic capital expenditures and keeping inflation in check. But unlike similar occasions in the fairly recent past, the slackening in consumer demand led not to appreciable reductions in price but rather to curtailed production; workers were laid off in considerable numbers, but annual wage increases continued to go into effect. And now that the recession is generally believed to be over, there are disquieting indications that a new sharp rise in inflation is upon us. Economists in Washington are reported to be taking rather calmly the three per cent rise in flat-rolled steel prices, but there are several other factors, all pointing to an intensified inflation threat.

One of the most striking is extraordinary activity on Wall Street, where more shares were sold and bought last month than in any July since 1932. In the course of this year's activity, stock values have risen by seventeen per cent in the face of an almost unbroken series of corporation reports showing outright losses or profits greatly below what they were during the comparable period of last year. Reports from overseas were also all of a piece: the United States continued to lose ground in power, prestige and prospects. New York's July weather could hardly be expected to engender optimism, either. Indeed, the expectations of a better 1959 were hardly good enough to explain the strong "bull" market. Higher security prices forecast more than anything else a new and steeper inflationary spiral.

Meanwhile in Washington there were other corroborating signs. Lesser tax revenues have accompanied increased defense demands to build up an expected national deficit of from eight to ten billions. There was no way out for the President but to request Congress to raise the national debt limit to 288 billions.

It is said that the steel producers' uniform hike in prices will add only $9 to $10 to the retail price of a three-thousand-dollar car, while the additional cost to the consumer for the average household appliance using steel will be only a dollar. But past experience has demonstrated that when raw materials go up, the various middlemen involved add margins of their own. In any case, a three per cent rise in price for such basic industrial ingredients as steel and aluminum, when compounded with the other inflationary pressures, can have only a widely stimulating effect.

The many groups of Americans living on fixed incomes are the first victims when inflation is on the rampage. They are hardly the last. As the value of the dollar greatly diminishes, nearly everybody stands to lose. To date the only specific remedy to be applied is to restrain the gyrations of Wall Street by raising the margin requirements from the fifty per cent rate to which federal authorities reduced them not many months ago to combat recession. Individual businessmen and union leaders can hardly be expected to volunteer to cut prices and profits, or to forego annual wage rises, to meet situations, when most of their compatriots will not themselves exercise such altruism. Doubtless Wash-

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ington's economic experts should now shift their sights. Their target is no longer the recession itself but a new threat of runaway inflation.

BAD NEWS FROM ARKANSAS

THE LEGACY of Little Rock has become clearer and more ominous. Governor Orval E. Faubus has won a landslide victory in the Arkanasas primary election, which in the Solid South is tantamount to election. The Governor, who campaigned against "Federal bayonets" and pledged unalterable opposition to "anyone who tries to force integration down anybody's throat," won twice as many votes as his two opponents combined. He swept all of Arkansas' seventy-five counties, including those in the northwest, where integration offers no problem.

Segregationists all over the South are hailing Governor Faubus' victory as a clear expression of popular support for their views, and they are now more determined than ever to continue their fight against integrated schools. The position of Southern moderates has, of course, been correspondingly weakened.

But now what? The decision by District Judge Harry J. Lemley to grant a two-year delay in the integration of Little Rock's Central High School is now before the Eighth Court of Appeals, and whichever way the court decides will bring additional trouble to Little Rock, the South and the nation as a whole. If the delay is sustained, segregationists will count it as another victory for their cause, and the grace-period will be used not to bring about integration slowly and peaceably but to redouble efforts to resist it. If the delay is overturned, Governor Faubus will undoubtedly seek again to obstruct the attendance of Negroes at the high school. What can President Eisenhower do then, the use of troops to enforce integration having now been repudiated by so large a majority of Arkansans?

There was a time when the segregationist tide in Arkansas might have been turned by even a few words from the President, when prompt and clear support of the law-abiding citizens there might have averted the present impasse. But that time has passed.

The President's "wait and see" method of dealing with problems has now, unluckily for him, led to some spectacular failures. That the method is oftentimes successful cannot be denied, but its recent failures make clear that it is not a principle to be relied upon. The passage of time can bring the solution to many problems, but it can also permit them to grow into crises, and then permit the crises to grow into disasters.

RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS

THIS COMING fall the voters of five states will be asked to pass on legislation that would outlaw union shop agreements between labor and management. This prospect comprises a topic for considerable debate in Republican councils in California, where Senator Knowland, the party's gubernatorial candidate, is a determined advocate of such a law. In 1956 the party platform in that state favored non-interference with the union shop, and the fact that Senator Knowland has now come to favor neutrality on the issue in the 1958 platform seems to indicate dissension within the ranks.

In the debate over this issue in California and other states phrases such as "voluntary unionism" and "the right to work" do much to cloud the issue. That is also the case where exorbitant initiation fees are coupled with union membership as a condition for employment. While it is conceivable that limitations on the union shop could be so carefully drawn as not seriously to impair the effective functioning of labor unions, there is evidence that the open shop laws now on the books in eighteen states do in fact greatly hinder those who seek to organize workers for collective bargaining. Where management and workers have worked out a union shop agreement, it is usually provided that after a certain specific interval, such as thirty days, a new worker at this plant must join the union, which bargains for all employees. That means that he must pay the dues required. It is eminently reasonable that a person who benefits from the higher wages, better working conditions and job security which have resulted from the representations of a union should share the cost of making and keeping these things possible. It is only equitable that he should.

MUDDLING THROUGH?

WHILE RECENT events have eased somewhat the tension which has gripped the Middle East since the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq and the arrival of United States troops in Lebanon, they have done little to clarify the long-range intentions or prospects of the United States in that area. The United States, along with other

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of the Western powers, has now recognized the republican government of Iraq, a government which was denounced by President Eisenhower a few weeks ago as composed of "murderers" whose rise to power in Iraq posed a threat to the security and independence of its neighbor-states.

This action seems a tacit admission that our first interpretation of the revolution in Iraq was mistaken. At any rate, it is justified as a step we could not help taking. By recognizing Iraq, it is argued, the United States gives notice to the world of its good intentions in the Middle East, it assures Arab leaders that the U.S. is ready to recognize their legitimate aspirations and it enhances the likelihood of the West's continuing to receive from the new government the oil it badly needs. Also, and very important, the recognition of Iraq is a tactical step which will improve the propaganda position of the United States in the apparently fast-approaching Soviet-U. S. confrontation.

The United States position in the propaganda war is similarly strengthened by the election in Lebanon of a President who represents a compromise between the pro- and anti-Western forces. The charges that American marines represented an "imperialist" or "occupation" force were considerably weakened by Mr. Dulles' swift announcement that United States troops would be withdrawn from Lebanon whenever they were asked to leave by the duly constituted government.

But the pattern suggested by these events—a pattern of United States withdrawal from the Middle East and acceptance of the legitimacy of Arab republican and nationalistic drives—seems contradicted by another Administration move. Secretary of State Dulles surprised most Americans—including members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—by announcing suddenly that the United States had entered into "full partnership" in the Baghdad Pact. This new commitment pledges United States aid to any of the member nations—Turkey, Pakistan and Iran, as well as Great Britain—in the event of military attack or of "indirect aggression."

"Indirect aggression" is yet to be defined, if it ever can be, but it would seem applicable to any attempt to overthrow a government where the revolutionaries are encouraged in one way or another by an outside force. Presumably the incitement by President Nasser of Arab nationalists throughout the Middle East falls under this heading. The phrase has been used to describe the "revolution-civil war" in Lebanon and, presumably again, could be used to describe the coup in Iraq.

In other words, the United States is more deeply committed than ever in the Middle East. Despite the recognition of Iraq and the expressed willingness to take the marines out of Lebanon, which seem useful and necessary steps in one aspect of our dilemma, Mr. Dulles has made a public declaration of our resolve to maintain the status quo in the Middle Eastern "northern tier." The assumption of "full partnership" in the Baghdad Pact may seem a useful and necessary step in another aspect of the dilemma, but these contrary Middle Eastern decisions indicate that we have still no far-reaching policy in the area. All we are doing, it appears, is buying time—and the price of it is high indeed.

BY ANY OTHER NOME

AMERICANA, we suppose, is where you find it. And the *Manchester Guardian*—of all places—is where we have recently come across a fascinating bit of old Alaskan lore. The historical oddment we refer to has to do with the origin of the exotic Alaskan place-name of Nome, as in Cape Nome and the town of Nome. According to the *Manchester Guardian* people—and heaven knows we wouldn't doubt them—Nome is not an old Eskimo or Indian word, as one might expect, but the result of bad handwriting and bureaucratic perpetuation. It seems the first surveyor of the Alaskan coastline indicated a cape on his map and added the word "name?" Back home, his handwriting was misunderstood—and the rest is obvious.

We're happy to add this pleasant anecdote to our file of Americana, and we guess we're grateful to the *Manchester Guardian* for supplying it. But it seems rather another blow to American prestige that an item like this should be found in a British publication and not one of our own. What happened to *Time?* To the *Reader's Digest?* To Believe-It-Or-Not Robert L. Ripley?

NEXT WEEK

MARYVONNE BUTCHER compares the national characteristics of movies from various countries.

"American films come in an endless uneven flow; sometimes so good that one stumbles back into the everyday world exhilarated and grateful . . . sometimes so bad that one is furious at the waste of good money. . . . But they almost always have vigor and finish and speed. . . ."

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The Reaches of History

The reorientation which the modern world demands rests on the fact of evolution—cosmic, organic and intellectual

by WALTER J. ONG

IN CERTAIN sectors of the globe we have reached a point where stock can be taken of the relationship of the Catholic Church to what is commonly known as the "modern" world. A recent volume which has undertaken to present a survey of these relationships from the French Revolution to the present has done so in an eminently readable way. The general frame of reference within which Mr. E. E. Y. Hales operates in *The Catholic Church in the Modern World* (Hanover House. $4.50.) is the familiar politico-religious one.

This frame does not exclude points of reference other than its own, for Mr. Hales has given lengthy treatment to issues not immediately or exclusively political, such as the struggles over the notion of freedom, "activism," and Modernism, and has touched on doctrinal and devotional developments. But by and large the backdrop for even these matters remains politico-religious, spreading from the *Ancien Régime* through the French Revolution, Napoleon, the Kulturkampf, the Vatican Council (treated chiefly in conjunction with the loss of the temporal power of the Papacy), and "Americanism," on to Mussolini, Hitler, and Communism.

This somewhat curial approach to the relationship between the Church and the world has much to recommend it. The approach must be mastered by those who wish really to put Christ's teachings into effect in the world around them, for God's purposes are not normally to be served by calculated ignorance, even of the political pressures in human society which have annoyed religious purists (such as, for example, Roger Williams) but with which even purists must in the long run deal (sometimes, alas, with a hypocrisy directly proportionate to their purism). As man in ancient times was already able to see, political activity is an important and praiseworthy activity of human society, and there is nothing necessarily despicable in it at all, although traffic in the City of Man always in some mysterious way wreaks violence on those who try to live in the City of God.

Moreover, the terms in which the relationships of the Church and the modern world can be cast within this politico-religious frame of reference are conveniently familiar: revolution, monarchy, democracy, restoration, establishment, liberalism, secularism, *coups d'état,* and so on. This is not to say that Mr. Hales uses these terms shoddily. He does not. His book is a valid and valuable survey, and he explains clearly and effectively the stands which the Church takes in this forest of clichés. His rare lapses appear to be in matters of incidental detail—where minor mistakes are inevitable when a work ranges so widely as this—or in occasionally thin discussion, as that concerning the "Americanist heresy," for which his bibliography includes almost no recent works, not even Monsignor John Tracy Ellis' recent life of Gibbons or Monsignor James H. Moynihan's recent life of Ireland, and in which Father Isaac Thomas Hecker turns up as Father Paul Hecker, apparently baptized eponymously with the name of the society of priests which he founded.

APART FROM its use in Mr. Hales' book, this frame of reference occasions reflection. What is its representative value in the minds of all of us when we try to think about the "modern" world and what is going on around us? In the relationship between the Church and the world something has occurred in modern times which this politico-religious framework, indispensable as it is, cannot contain, partly because what has occurred has changed the very idea of a framework such as this.

Father Walter J. Ong, S.J., of Saint Louis University, is the author of *Frontiers in American Catholicism.*

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What, for instance, has happened to the classical notion which sees the sovereign state as an individuated, competing institution in this thermonuclear, quasi-unified world where we now live? The notion has not, of course, completely disappeared. We still live by it to some extent and shall continue to do so for some time. But we now know that the reality which this notion attempted to represent is doomed. The discrete and integral sovereign state or *respublica* is really not the sort of thing which Plato or Guicciardini or Hobbes or Jefferson thought it was, for it is not a stable item in human society. It is essentially an institution which comes into being at a certain stage in man's occupation of this planet and which subsequently begins imperceptibly to alter as mankind secures a better hold on itself and on the world by increase in population and advances in communication, with all that these things involve. Already "sphere of influence" has displaced the notion of sovereign state in many of the realities of political life.

Our notion of the state and of the political has undergone an enormous change in the past few generations because we have improved our knowledge of the relationship of man to the universe and of the relationship of both man and the universe to time and space. Once geology and astronomy and physics and anthropology have plunged the story of man into the depths of a universe between five and ten billion years old, still expanding with incredible speed through spaces measurable only by billions of light years, and once the history of literature, of philosophy, and of science has revealed the tremendous development which has gone on within the realm of human understanding vis-à-vis the reality with which man has found himself surrounded, we can hardly afford to think about the past without situating it somehow in our imaginations within this huge depth of time and space in which we now know we dwell.

Religiously, these time and space depths would perhaps have made little difference to an Aristotle, professing, as Aristotle did, that God is too exalted above all other reality to be in any way concerned with it (perhaps somewhat as Aristotle and his friends may have felt themselves to be exalted in the regard of the slaves of Athens). Even today, the same depths of time and space might not impress a yogi, intent on his own arrangements for achieving direct union with the Deity. But for a Christian the depth of vision brought by the new discoveries makes a tremendous difference, for he knows that no union with God is possible except through Christ, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, Himself God, Who deliberately took to Himself a human nature in this very world about which science is discovering so much. The follower of Christ is thus very much concerned with this physical world, and his thinking about the Church's place in it must keep pace with the natural knowledge we have about it.

As man's ideas of what the world is undergo radical revision and enlargement, the Christian must make some fundamental adjustments in thinking about his religion itself. But he must make them sensitively and within the economy of faith. The Modernists mistakenly tried to adjust Revelation to the new facts, as though the new facts gave them some sort of new grasp on Revelation. The obverse was what was called for, and it demanded more maturity and patience: not the adapting of Revelation to the new facts, but the integration of the new facts with revelation; not a new understanding of faith and of God in the light of the new discoveries, but a new understanding of the new discoveries in the light of faith and in relationship to God. What was called for by the new discoveries was not precisely a new understanding of Christ's divine Nature but a deeper and more adequate understanding than had hitherto been possible of His human nature (as well as of our own, which is the same essentially as His) brought about by the increasing knowledge concerning the relationship of man to the totality of the universe.

A NEW world view has come into being as man has moved from the age of Newtonian physics into the age of Planck, Einstein, and Heisenberg. My difficulty with the politico-religious frame of thinking as applied to the relationship between the Church and the modern world is that it operates without reference to the new world view. The frame of thinking becomes particularly limiting insofar as we are aware that the most significant and profound effect of the modern world on the Catholic Church has not been the loss of the Papal States or the running fight with anti-clericalism or even with Communism, but precisely the slow, and sometimes exceedingly painful, elaboration of a more profound understanding of herself and of her role in God's designs forced by the changing world view.

For the Church has elaborated her understanding of her mission, and indeed come to some new understanding of this mission, as the relationship of man to the universe has been clarified through the scientific

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work of the modern world. The Church's in Christ's Mystical Body, inextricably involved with His human nature, and the development of our understanding of man inevitably makes itself felt in the Church's understanding of her own mission.

Basically, the reorientation which the modern world has demanded in man's understanding of the universe and of himself is a reorientation around the fact of evolution—cosmic, organic, and intellectual. This reorientation underlies the Church's activity even at the politico-religious level, and, although it does not explain everything in her relationship to the modern world, it adds a new dimension to almost all the elements in every explanation.

The modern preoccupation with revolution, not only as a political phenomenon or device but also as a philosophical theme and a way of life, is an epiphenomenon of this reorientation. The rigidity of the supporters of the *Ancien Régime* and of those who opposed the *Ralliement* announced by Cardinal Lavigerie at the instance of Leo XIII, as well as of those who were piqued at the "socialism" of *Rerum Novarum* is connected with an inability to enter imaginatively into the fact of social evolution or even to recognize the fact. The failure of the Catholic mind rather generally throughout Europe to adjust promptly and adequately to the emigration from the farms to the factories and the attempt to meet social change by anachronistic talk about remaining content with one's "state in life," still conceived of in terms of a static universe, reflect the same inability.

On the other side of the ledger, the drive to social reform manifest in *Rerum Novarum* and elsewhere reflects the slow growth of the realization that human society is always an evolving thing. The "Americanist" quarrel presents the same problem of change in another apiphany, and the Modernist movement represents a particularly disastrous attempt to deal with this urgent problem in too simple a fashion, proceeding as though change alone, and not the more arduous dialectic of change and changelessness, might define the province of human activity and form the field for divine revelation.

To recognize the profound changes in man's view of the universe and of himself in it which have marked modern times does not mean that the politico-religious view must be scanted, for the developments which such a view discerns and details are themselves coefficients of the growth in man's understanding of the cosmos and his place in it. But to think of the Church as being "in" the modern world chiefly through her dealings with the great political powers is to minimize both the notion of the modern world and of the Church's presence, and at this point somewhat to obscure the relationship of Christ and of His Church to the cosmos as a whole.

TO A CERTAIN extent the politico-religious framework is common today and must be used because of the nature of secondary-school and even elementary-school training, which in our civilization still tends to view history as primarily military and political—not so much as it did in the past, but still to a notable extent. The live core of history, that is, the history of the development of the human psyche in the framework of human society over the ages, the history of the development of man's ideas, has not commonly made itself real below the college level of teaching or even at times below the graduate level. Undoubtedly it will never be able to penetrate the all-important beginning years of instruction so thoroughly as political history, for battles, whether military or political or personal, remain eminently easy for a youngster to understand. He has been in them. A military and political reading is thus the most facile reading which can be given to history. And this, no doubt, is why the first historians wrote history from a military and political point of view. This view is the first one available.

But this view is no longer sufficient. It is no longer feasible, if it ever was feasible, for history to concern itself only with the past. The past must be studied with attention to the future. Not that one goes to history to secure and bear away a neat bundle of "lessons" with which henceforth to plot one's own life. This view of history, a relic of Renaissance pedagogical developments, is too facile to be convincing. But one does, by now, go to the past to get a sense of the trajectory along which the entire human race on our globe is moving.

Here certain larger theorems assert themselves as having an unmistakable bearing on the future: Man's history is tied in with that of the cosmos which bore him; he appears at a certain point in its development, after a vast maturity is reached. Thereupon the story of mankind on our earth is in great part the story of the progressive colonization of the planet in its entirety, combined with the story of developing communications and skills. After an initial racial differentiation, or scatter of variants, reminiscent of the progressive differentiation in infra-human evolution, a pattern of convergence sets in in the human world. Over the entire surface of the earth men establish greater and greater contact with one another, generating an awareness of all mankind as a unit—in a way, for example, in which the global aggregate of bears or of butterflies never establishes any sort of global awareness of itself. Today we are on the threshold of a new stage: the earth is beginning to fill up with mankind, while at the same time communications are being perfected in such a way as to make possible human cooperation on a scale simply inconceivable even five thousand years ago, much less a hundred thousand years ago. On this

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network of communications are poised our technological skills. And the space age has in some sense begun.

THUS HISTORY, seen in sufficiently large perspectives, gives us some idea of what the future will be like, although the idea is necessarily indeterminate in many details. It is into this world which the larger view of cosmic history reveals to us and which has ahead of it a future both projected from and different from its past that the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity became incarnate and established the Church as His Mystical Body, the extension of His Incarnation in time and space.

It may not be necessary to think about these larger perspectives always when we are considering the place of the Church in the modern world, and it is certainly not necessary for Mr. Hales or any other author to include them in any particular book. But the time has come when, unless we think about them sometimes—and rather regularly, so that they form the habitual backdrop for our historical awarenesses—we are really distorting our understanding of reality. In an age when management consultants for commercial enterprises are becoming increasingly globe-conscious and metaphysical because of the very sweep with which they view even the small details of human activity, it is no longer possible to think of politico-religious history in the ways congenial to Gibbon or Maculay or Newman or even Augustine, though the City of God and the City of Man are with us still.

Is not one of the difficulties of the Catholic mind and imagination at present a widespread inaptitude for viewing the Incarnation and Redemption against the full background of cosmic history as we know this history today? With this, does there not go an unhealthy diffidence with regard to thinking honestly and constructively about the future—the full future, not the next five or ten or fifty years but the next millennia and more? It is perfectly true that no one can hope to set up a program for Catholic activity or for any other activity which is at all likely to be feasible ten or twenty thousand years from now. But it is also true that unless we habitually feel our activity and decisions to be somehow involved in the long-range future, just as we now know them to be involved with the far, far distant past, we can no longer make decisions which will be very real in the twentieth-century present. Unless we have a sweeping view of history in its most profound reaches—psychological, sociological, intellectual, and cosmic, as well as religious and political—the Church will not be present in us to the modern world. For one of the most distinctive notes of the modern mind is its conscious and deliberate sweep into the past and the future in all their dimensions.

A PRECARIOUS BALANCE

Poland Today

by DIDIER LAZARD

IT WAS MY first visit behind the Iron Curtain. As with all my travels, I was favorably disposed toward Poland to begin with. Otherwise, I felt I might just as well stay at home. But I must admit that my wife and I felt uneasy there for quite a while —it was hard to say exactly why. Foreigners are welcome and move about freely. Not once were we watched or harassed in any way. But we could sense certain traces of yesterday's police state.

We were also uneasy because poverty assailed us on every side. Life appears normal enough, with everyone at work, but to someone coming from the West living conditions seem extremely difficult. The deprivation is universal and takes many forms. But within ten days, surprisingly, our reactions had greatly changed. We came to say, "Well, all in all, the people are not so badly off." So few things actually are required for human existence. A threadbare cloak is certainly a cloak; a coat that has been turned is still a coat; shoes that are down at the heels are still shoes.

We visited the big department stores a number of times. The leading store in Warsaw, for instance, has a mechanical escalator but you have to walk up two flights to get to it. Counters have to be especially protected against theft. Goods are scarce. Their quality made us think of what was available in France right after the Liberation. I heard one man speak with emotion of some shaving soap he had received from London.

It takes some time to find out the actual extent

Mr. Lazard is a French writer whose work has appeared in *Réalitiés, Le Monde, La Vie Française* and other journals.

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to which things are lacking. An attaché at the embassy had curtains on only one of his windows, as he could get no rods for the others. Floor wax is scarce; carpets do not exist; plastics are unknown. In the best hotels the staff's clothing is shabby and the linens are never white. Yet the production of consumers' goods is improving steadily.

Poland has practically no auto traffic. People cross the streets at almost any point without having to bother with precautions. There are some old cars reclaimed from the war, and the only modern cars, taxis and others, are Warshawas, which are made in Poland from Soviet designs and cost 120,000 *zlotis,* or over eight years' wages!

Most Polish intellectuals have two jobs, some of them three. Offices and stores are open from nine to four, which gives people a chance to do something further on the side. The legal adviser of a large business concern, for example, we discovered playing the piano in the dining room at our hotel. And there is a severe housing shortage. A woman journalist we met had to share her one-room apartment with one of her co-workers. A leading editor, with a four-room apartment, uses only three rooms for his own family, which consists of a wife and three children, because he gave up a fourth room to a young couple and child. The two families share the kitchen and the one bathroom.

Nevertheless, in spite of these privations, the Poles manifest a thirst for culture which surpasses anything in the West. Everyone is reading. Books, serious books too, are for sale everywhere—in the numerous bookstores and at the bookstalls on the streets and even inside the theaters. Even works like translations into modern Polish of all the philosophers since ancient times, which formerly would have sold barely five hundred copies, are now brought out in editions of three thousand five hundred and are sold out in a few weeks.

BEHIND THE Iron Curtain everything in a country's economy is supposed to be nationalized—not only factories and means of transport but housing, construction, retail and food stores, cafés and restaurants, clothiers and pharmacies, stationery and antique shops. If a Pole has a small piece of land and a little money, for example, there is no point in his thinking about building a small home; the state is the only source of bricks. But a socialist professor I talked to said, "If it seems stupid for the State to busy itself with such matters as the distribution of lipsticks, there are nevertheless other points on which socialization is definitive. For example, the idea that one may rent an apartment from a private individual is simply unthinkable. What we seek most emphatically is to ally socialism with freedom."

But to what degree has this been achieved? Since the rising of October 1956, freedom is theoretically guaranteed in Poland. But in practice? We were in Warsaw on an election day and, attracted by the red bunting, my wife and I went to a polling station. The officials there told us that although they were surprised to see us, we were quite welcome.

Behind the voting urn hung a large red cloth adorned with a white eagle. On the floor were flowers, and beside the official table were two piles of bulletins, red and blue—each containing a single list drawn up by the Government, including a certain minority representation of the recognized political parties. It was permitted, we were told, to cross off only three of the candidates. When I asked if I might take copies of these bulletins, I was refused.

There were two booths for marking one's list in private, but no one used them. To do so, apparently, is not yet the custom. And I learned that it is not yet customary to cross off any names either. Even an opposition deputy and his son voted the whole list, on the theory that the elections had little political importance but simply registered approval of the government—by votes of from eighty to ninety-five per cent.

Young people may vote as soon as they are eighteen, an arrangement which assures large majorities under a regime that shows so much solicitude for youth. There is an opposition party in the parliament, however. This party is the *Znak,* a group of ten men who have gone into public life because of their dedication to Christian ideals. (*Znak* means sign—"In this sign shalt thou conquer.") It is said that the majority members seldom if ever manifest any differences in sessions of the parliament, but that the President inclines his head slightly toward the *Znak* contingent when he wants a question examined more thoroughly or simply seeks a personal opinion. A score of groups with Catholic tendencies have sought governmental recognition since 1956, but only three authorizations have been granted. *Znak* continues to fight for the others.

Freedom of the press is not as extensive as that of association or of opinion in present-day Poland. The only French and English papers available are *L'Humanité* and the *Daily Worker;* they are plentiful at all hotels and newsstands. Otherwise there are only a few hard-to-obtain copies of *Le Monde.* The thought of the country clearly is regulated.

"How can you expect us to be anything else but Marxists?" a young Pole asked me, in one of the conversations I struck up with anybody who would talk; "We have no basis for comparison." And, indeed, an intelligent journalist and the son of a prominent family, who went to Belgium recently, told us of his distaste for this first contact with "the bourgeois world." Thus the injustice of the past disturbs even those who once benefited from it. Poland has paid dearly for its experience of socialism, but this much is de-

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cided. the country is socialist and will remain so, although with certain shadings. Indeed a bourgeois ideology impregnated with materialism no longer appears attractive. And the Poles have seen Communist ideology too close at hand to accept that brand of socialism. What they seek is a socialism consonant with their ardent patriotism, which borders on nationalism.

The question is whether such a brand can be found. If government employees were supermen and the economy were functioning without a hitch, the leaders could have the whole people enthusiastically behind them. But cannot this be said of any country?

A THREE-HOUR conversation I had with Ladislas, a political science student of twenty-three who had been a leader in the Communist youth movement but had left the Party because of recent events, was extremely revealing. "I could not accept the fact that some people earn five hundred *zlotis* a month while others get a thousand. This is not Communism. Wealth should not exist alongside of poverty. But Communism is far from the ideal it proclaims."

"Do you believe this is partly the fault of the West and that the West is a military threat to the Communist world?"

He smiled, both annoyed and amused, and finally said: "Yes, I believe so . . . at least it is more than half true." When asked about it, he said that freedom was a relative idea. "To some degree we are free. But in the Soviet Union there is no improvement in that regard. When the Central Committee has decided something, no discussion is permitted. But I want to make decisions in accordance with my own ideals."

He seemed pleased to be asked whether this position conformed with Marxist principles. "That is a delicate question; in my Communism that is the way things would be." When he said that government should represent the people, I asked him whether such was not the case in the nations of the West. He admitted that it was.

"And in Russia?"

"The official pronouncements do court public opinion, but in actual policy, no. Everything is decided in advance."

When I asked about the attitude of the Communists toward religion, he replied coldly, "Religion does not exist. Belief was made up by idealists in order to deceive the masses." Then, after a pause, he went on to express a more personal opinion. "Nevertheless, religion has had a good influence on civilization—on painting, for example, or on architecture. But in the modern world it is outdated."

"Your parents are Catholics?"

"Yes, and I do not wish to fight with them; I was brought up a Catholic."

He hesitated when I sought his opinion as to the object of civilization. "It is to enable people to obtain a sufficiency of material things and some leisure." His horizon went no farther than work and recreation. He made a rather meaningful remark about reading: "The workers find literature incomprehensible. Books are important only for cultured people. That is a shame. Those who write should be familiar with the needs of their readers, their aspirations and potentialities; writers should so express themselves that they are understood. As it is, writers always keep something hidden."

There was in this remark the pain occasioned by earnest mental activity that has not yet succeeded in its strivings. Still, Ladislas had reached the stage of rejecting simple obedience to official instructions as a means of participation in public life. He is spurred on not by ambition but by an aspiration toward being which comes deep from within.

It was Ladislas himself who remarked after we had been talking for some time: "Formerly, after such a conversation I would have been arrested."

At nearby tables young men and women were drinking coffee, chattering together, working on their university assignments. They paid no attention to us. Some wore jackets, turned-up collars, even imported blue-jeans. Girls with long hair had pony tails. But among the students there was kissing of hands, an old custom of the Polish aristocracy now adopted by all classes. I even saw workers taking leave of each other in the street by a kiss on the hand.

AT THE ACADEMY of Mines at Cracow, which has grown to five thousand students, I talked to two student roommates, a worker's son who was a member of the Party and the son of an engineer-surveyor who was a Catholic. Formerly neither one would have had a chance to undertake higher studies. The young Catholic seemed very bright; he was reading *Bodies and Souls,* by Van der Meersch. He said he would like to study languages—first German, then French, then English—after he graduates.

I asked: "What do they teach you about the countries of the West?"

"That they are imperialists and colonialists. Their

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wealth comes from the exploitation of the colonies."

I let that pass and asked about Germany and Switzerland.

There was not an instant's hesitation. "Germany is financed by the United States while in Switzerland tourism supplies the foreign exchange"

"Well answered," I replied. "I wanted simply to test you."

When we spoke of religion I asked the Communist whether he thought it the opium of the people. He hesitated, replied in the affirmative, and then added after an interval of silence: "Yes, especially here in Poland."

His roommate intervened. "They have tried to deprive the people of God and have nothing to put in His place."

This was a severe judgment on official socialist ethics. Since 1956 the teaching of catechism has been authorized in the schools and practically all pupils study it, but the young Catholic I was talking to could hardly be satisfied by the outmoded formalism of the religion in his country. He is attracted by the Catholic thought of France, and his problem is to find a priest who understands his aspirations.

It is difficult fully to estimate the effort of synthesis demanded of the young Polish intelligentsia. Both geography and history have placed them at the crossroads of several ideological conceptions. These young people, as their counterparts in other countries, have an imperative need for an absolute. The accommodations between the Cardinal and Mr. Gomulka, for instance—which some deem similar to those between Don Camillo and Peppone—are doubtless necessary, but the new generation no longer finds them acceptable. And the young represent the future.

Poland's ideological balance is in the process of being upset by accelerated industrialization, the democratization of teaching, the surge of the masses toward knowledge and culture. This second revolution is much more important than its Communist predecessor. Perhaps its effects will not be felt for another generation. But in my opinion it is from this point on, and on this terrain, that the destiny of the West will finally be worked out.

'JIM CROW' LEAVES THE CAPITAL

Integration in Washington

by ISAAC FRANCK

IN DEALING with the subject of racial desegregation in the nation's capital we confront not only one of the most interesting theoretical problems of our time but one of our most imperative practical problems; and the social changes which have taken place in Washington within the last decade are of particular moment at this juncture in our national history. Washington is a Federal city, marked off by artificial and arbitrary boundary lines from a large and expanding hinterland of suburbia in contiguous counties of Maryland and Virginia. At the end of 1957 the total population of the metropolitan area was about two million. Somewhat less than half this number live within the boundaries of the District of Columbia, and of those within the District proper about forty-five per cent are Negroes.

These figures take on new meaning when we realize that they show the population to have doubled in some seventeen years. The sheer doubling of the metropolitan population in such a short period is in itself impressive. What is most relevant here, however, is the growth of the Negro population in Washington proper during this period. The growth in the Negro population of Washington is, of course, nothing exceptional. Similar and even greater increases in the Negro populations in urban centers are reflected all across the country. This is part of the general trend toward urbanization in the United States. That many of the Negro immigrants into Washington have come from Southern rural areas with inferior schools for Negroes is particularly relevant to our school situation, and to the glaring inequalities between the Negro and the white schools brought to light after integration.

A graphic description of some of the aspects of the Washington situation about ten years ago is contained in the 1947 report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, entitled "To Secure These Rights":

"If a Negro stops in Washington . . . with a very few exceptions, he is refused service at downtown restaurants, he may not attend a downtown movie or play, and he has to go into the poorer section of the

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Mr. Franck, a member of the faculty of American University, is Executive Director of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington. This article is adapted from a recent address to the Council.

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city to find a night's lodging. The Negro who decides to settle in the District must often find a home in an overcrowded, substandard area. He must often take a job below the level of his ability. He must send his children to the inferior public schools set aside for Negroes, and entrust his family's health to medical agencies which give inferior service. In addition, he must endure the countless daily humiliations that the system of segregation imposes upon the one-third of Washington that is Negro."

Let me fill in a number of additional details. Ten years ago Negroes and whites were assigned separate recreational facilities, public facilities, including the playgrounds and swimming pools of the D. C. Recreation Department and the swimming pools under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, as well as such private facilities as bowling alleys. In addition to separate movie houses for Negroes and whites, the crazy-quilt pattern of segregation made it possible for Negro performers to appear on the *stage* of legitimate theaters, but barred Negroes from the *audiences;* while in Constitution Hall the reverse was the case: concert audiences were admitted without distinctions of color, but no Negro performers were allowed to appear on the stage.

Segregation was the practice in private social agencies. The Police Boys' Clubs were rigidly divided into white and Negro units. No Negro physicians were admitted into the D. C. Medical Society; no Negro lawyers were given membership in the D. C. Bar Association; no Negro nurses could be members of the District Nurses' Association. The Fire Department was strictly segregated into Negro and white companies. Hiring and promotions of Negroes in the Metropolitan Police Department left much to be desired. The public transportation system refused to employ Negroes as motormen or bus drivers. Except for Federal government agencies, employment of Negroes in other than low level jobs was almost unknown, either in the D. C. government, or in public utilities, or in private employment in department stores, offices, or other businesses. No Negro architects were employed by "white" architectural firms. Churches were, on the whole, separated into Negro and white churches, and it became a cliché to say that the greatest amount of segregation in Washington took place on Sunday mornings at eleven o'clock.

MANY OTHER DETAILS could be added to this melancholy recital of the unmistakably "Jim Crow" character of our nation's capital a decade ago. These objective facts were accompanied by a widespread assumption that this situation had existed from eternity, and would continue to exist as part of the essential nature of the city and its patterns.

However, much has changed in the intervening ten years. And while there is still much segregation, while there are still multitudinous discriminations, while it is not possible to assert dogmatically that there has been a great change in mass attitudes, it is unmistakably true that a major social revolution has taken place in Washington. Today, Negro and white youngsters attend the same public schools, Negroes and whites go to the same movie houses, theaters, and Constitution Hall—on the stage as well as in the audience. Recreation facilities, including playgrounds, swimming pools, and privately owned bowling alleys, are unsegregated. Negroes and whites eat in the same restaurants. The public transportation system employs Negroes as motormen and bus drivers. Some of the public utilities have begun employing Negroes in such positions of high visibility as secretaries and account clerks in the front offices. The District government has instituted a nondiscrimination employment policy. Police Department hiring and upgrading of Negroes has shown marked improvement. Some beginnings have been made in desegregating the Fire Department. Negro physicians are admitted into the D. C. Medical Society. Negro nurses are members of the D. C. Nurses Association. The D. C. Bar Association is still in the throes of deciding about admitting Negro lawyers, but there is little question about the outcome.

Voluntary social agencies are in a process of transition, and many of them are now completely integrated. There are a number of integrated churches in Washington, and more on the way. The staff and all activities of the Council of Churches, including its many, well-attended institutes and seminars, are completely integrated. We have reason to believe that in the next few weeks a number of large department stores will begin hiring Negroes as sales people. Hospitals accept Negro patients, and Negro doctors are free to practice their profession in the hospitals. At the drawing boards of a number of architectural firms Negro and white architects work side by side. Negroes, on the whole, have no problem in obtaining lodging in first-class downtown hotels.

It is easy to rattle off, machine-gun fashion, this cavalcade of progress. But only those who have personally known Washington during this past decade can fully appreciate the revolutionary character of the changes; and only those who have themselves participated in bringing about these changes can know what went into this exciting and inspiring process.

Almost every one of these social changes was preceded by dire predictions about the consequences of the change. At best, people were sure that the change just would not work. At worst, disturbances and violence were predicted. It is important to note, however, that this decade of progress was punctuated by only three minor disturbances connected with swimming pools and high schools. Firm and intelligent police handling and public statements by the Superintendent

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of Schools, with helpful editorializing by the city's three newspapers, brought the students back to their classes within three days.

WHAT WERE some of the ingredients which made possible this relatively peaceful transition? *First,* there were a large number of individuals and organizations who refused to accept three myths, and who succeeded in persuading others to refuse to accept these myths: the myth of unchangeability of any situation; the myth of the inevitability of violence if integration is effectuated; and the myth that there is a necessary order of priority which must be followed in a program of integration.

I recall vividly the conferences with our newspaper editors in the summer of 1950, after they had editorialized on the Interior Department's decision to integrate its swimming pools, and had expressed fears that such integration would result in riots by irresponsible elements. We argued that the newspapers must liberate themselves from the myth of the inevitability of violence; that in predicting violence they were contributing to the creation of an atmosphere permissive toward violence, and thus giving encouragement to the irresponsible elements whose inclinations they deplored; that as community institutions the newspapers had a responsibility to create an atmosphere conducive to the maintenance of law and order and to the acceptance of progressive social change. The newspapers were persuaded, and since then have on the whole been an affirmative force in the history of desegration in Washington. Other institutions, elected representatives, and community leaders also had to be persuaded, and this process of persuasion did not proceed without considerable resistance. Moral suasion, careful social and psychological analyses of the problem, and dedicated persistence contributed to the lowering of resistance.

The *second* ingredient worthy of note is the cooperation of and preparation by various community organizations and institutions. In 1951, when the litigation took place which established the validity of nineteenth-century civil rights laws, and resulted in the desegregation of Washington's restaurants, community groups joined together in filing briefs as "Friends of the Court," in support of the validity of these laws. Later, in the school desegregation case, community organizations joined in submitting an *amicus curiae* brief to the Supreme Court, in support of desegregation. These groups included leading Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious and civic organizations, such as the Council of Churches, the Jewish Community Council, the Catholic Interracial Council, the American Friends Service Committee, as well as other citizens' groups such as the Urban League and N.A.A.C.P. Each time the newspapers and newscasters made public the fact that a large and heterogeneous group of community organizations supported racial desegregation, public opinion was affected. Nor must one slight the moral impact of the three religious groups, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, speaking out jointly, in conferences, in legal briefs, and in public pronouncements, in support of desegregation.

There were other kinds of preparation also. The Catholic parochial schools quietly initiated integration three years before the Supreme Court decision. The religious leadership, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, carried on educational work *within* their respective constituencies, and preached from their pulpits. The Park Police and the Metropolitan Police Departments gave their men training in intergroup relations, and in the professional responsibilities of police officers maintaining law and order, and protecting the life and safety of *all* human beings in the community. Intergroup Relations and Intergroup Education Workshops, for teachers and community leaders, were conducted by universities and by community organizations, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Friends Service Committee. These and other groups thus made sure that the preparation consisted not merely of exhortative appeals but of cooperative community action, and of professional training for those involved in the day-to-day business of human relations.

The *third* ingredient, particularly in the peaceful process of school integration, was clarity, authoritativeness, moral firmness, and lack of ambiguity in the pronouncements of the Board of Education and the implementation of the desegregation plans. It is to the credit of the D. C. Board of Education that it issued a clear and unequivocal policy statement shortly after the Supreme Court decision, and that it approved a carefully worked out desegregation plan, and proceeded to carry it out with dispatch and determination. When the Board of Recreation, on the day following the Supreme Court's decision, finally integrated *all* the D. C. recreation facilities *at once,* the action was accepted by the community without a ripple of protest.

It should also be noted that Washington's status as the capital of the United States made possible in this instance the added voice of moral authority and rightness behind the process of integration in the public statements of the President of the United States and of other high federal officials. Thus Washington's experience furnishes additional evidence in support of the contention that morally right, authoritative decisions on desegregation, announced by high-level leadership, and carried out without equivocation, ambiguity, or delay, will be accepted by the community without disturbances or violence.

THERE IS much work still to be done before Washington begins to approximate the full realization of the goals of American democracy, and of

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healthy intergroup relations. The progress we have made must not blind us to the need for further progress. But we must also be realistically aware of the impediments to further progress.

There are these difficulties: First, Washington's geographic location makes it a border city, between North and South, in whose population ambivalences concerning race relations will persist for some time to come. Second, the phenomenon of suburbia reinforces in the minds of some people the fantasy or delusion that one can escape desegregation through joining the flight to the suburbs. As long as these delusions persist, as long as people fail to ask themselves realistically how far they can continue to flee, and how long they can continue to escape the inherently American trend toward integration, our progress will be impeded. The third impediment is contained in the fact that Washington is a city whose residents have no franchise. Washington has no Home Rule, and its citizens have no power to make their own decisions. The legislative body for the city of Washington is the Congress of the United States, which has a few other things of importance to be concerned about. Some Congressmen, from some Southern states, seem to want to maintain a Washington which conforms to their cherished image of a "Jim Crow" town in their native state. Finally, there are still some elements in the power structure of the community who fear that integration will lead to changes in the power structure, and to consequent uncertainties about their own position within it.

However, in spite of these impediments, progress will continue. The most recent episode in this decade of progress was the official order issued several weeks ago by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia (the three Commissioners perform functions similar to those of a Mayor in a normal municipality), creating a Human Relations Council in the Government of the District. This Council will deal with problems of discrimination, segregation, and intergroup relations. And to the extent to which the element of right governmental authority is a factor of importance in facilitating the process of integration, to that extent the creation of the Human Relations Council gives us additional reason for looking forward to further progress in the nation's capital.

AN APPEAL

Jacques Maritain appeals to the generosity of the readers of The Commonweal on behalf of a community of poor Carmelite Sisters who conduct, in Rome, an orphanage which shelters many children. The Sisters seek funds to build a chapel badly needed for this orphanage. Readers may send donations directly to: Carmelitano di S. Giuseppe, Orfanotrofio, 4 via Innocenzo X, Rome, Italy.

THE SCREEN

A CERTAIN SAGAN

THE MOVIE made from Françoise Sagan's second novel, "A Certain Smile," is a rather empty affair. It may be better cinematically than "Bonjour Tristesse," but it's still little more than another long and tiresome exercise about the mess a teenager gets herself into. Although Henry Ephron's production is extraordinarily handsome, with plenty of elaborate interior sets and smartly-dressed women and some incredibly beautiful color photography of Paris and the Riviera spread across the CinemaScope screen, all this is merely window dressing for a shallow story of a young girl who falls in love with a married man, thinks she's deliriously happy when she spends a week with him by the sea, and then thinks the bottom has dropped out of the world when she comes to understand that for him their great love was no more than just another fling.

At first Christine Carere makes this French girl quite appealing. A Sorbonne student, half-engaged to a mama-mufflered, weak young man (Bradford Dillman), half-neglected by her ever-mourning parents (nicely played by Eduard Franz and Katherine Locke), she falls suddenly, passionately, in love with her young man's uncle. She tries to fight this romance, but her young man and her parents are of no great help, and circumstances seem to sweep her along to the "idyllic" week on the Riviera. Rossano Brazzi plays the handsome philanderer in a lifeless sort of way, making it clear from the beginning that his love for the girl is not serious. He is as unconcerned about his responsibilities to others as is the girl, who dabbles in existentialism and is shocked to discover that she is the one who is most hurt when Brazzi drops her. By then the audience is convinced they've spent a lot of time concentrating on a girl who is neither bright nor interesting.

As Brazzi's wife, Joan Fontaine, who delivers an excellent and the one really moving performance in this film directed by Jean Negulesco, tells the girl off in the picture's best scene. Joan is hurt too by her husband's affair with this young girl whom she liked so much. Unforgiving and disdainful toward the blubbering girl she adds, "Wouldn't it be nice if I could scold you. . . . You little dunce, I loved you like a daughter."

No doubt Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett did the best they could in writing a script from Françoise Sagan's thin book. "A Certain Smile" is a pretty picture, but by now it must be apparent to moviemakers that Miss Sagan's prose, though interesting and moving, does not adapt well for the screen. Style is not enough.

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WITH SACHA GUITRY it was all style: witty and naughty French sophistication. His last film, "Lovers and Thieves," like many of his others, is a study in impudent irony. While a man in Versailles (Jean Poiret) is writing a suicide note, a burglar (Michel Serrault) breaks into his house. After an absurd discussion about money and the ethics of the deal, the man convinces the burglar to "suicide" him and then he tells the burglar the story of his past. A lengthy flashback shows Poiret in Deauville, where he meets a former college bully and decides to get even with him by having an affair with his willing wife (Magali Noel). After some time the husband catches them and strangles the wife. Poiret shoots the husband and slips the gun into the pocket of a burglar who happens to be robbing this house at the same time. At the murder trial, by far the funniest scene in the picture because a witness (Darry Cowl) who strays into the wrong court gives his jumbled testimony anyway, the burglar is sentenced to ten years. So conscience-stricken Poiret decides to become a professional thief to compensate for the burglar's career which he ended. For ten years he is a tremendous success, which brings us up-to-date and up to the present burglar, who is of course the one in the flashback. How the Versailles man disposes of the burglar who "would have loused up his life" wins the last laugh.

Director-writer Guitry's brash film is obviously not for sensitive moviegoers. Some of his jokes are very funny, some are blasé, some bawdy, and some, like the scenes ridiculing the inmates of an asylum, are in such bad taste as to detract from the genuinely amusing episodes. Unfortunately, "Lovers and Thieves" doesn't know when enough's enough; and while its satirical points are often clever, it spoils them by going too far.

THE ENGLISH, who are often clever at satirical comedy, also get bogged down in their own jokes every now and then. "Law and Disorder," which has a fine cast and an amusing story about a confidence man who keeps popping in and out of prison, has the possibilities of good fun but never makes the most of them. The script, written by several authors including experienced T. E. B. Clarke, is much too talky and involved; and Director Charles Crichton handles his actors with a heavy hand instead of the light touch needed for this kind of farce. Michael Redgrave, as the crook who returns from each prison term posing as a missionary so his son won't know where he's been, and Robert Morley, as the judge who sentences him after each crime, seem to feel that displaying their charms and eccentricities is enough. While the supporting cast, as in so many English films, are all good, they find the plot too complicated to put over. "Law and Disorder" is not very legal and entirely too disordered.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

"THE CHURCH IN LATIN AMERICA"

Rio de Janeiro.

TO THE EDITORS: There is an anti-American wind blowing south of the Panama Canal at the present moment that we, at least in Brazil, where it has so far never existed, are trying our best to overcome, but I must say that Father Gremillion's article on "The Church in Latin America" [May 23] will not help us.

It seems easy to take a six weeks' trip "round South America" (Brazil, Paraguay, Venezuela, it's all just one "Latin America"), and then go back to the States (or rather to *America tout court*), climb up to the top, settle on a pedestal, and speak about the Church in the United States, with its wealth of clergy and dollars, and stretch out a hand to the "dying church in Latin America," so it won't be dead and buried by the year 2000. Romans used to say that comparisons are always lame, and, thank the Lord, we are not all made the same way.

Father Gremillion is right when he says that "Our Latin brothers in the Faith deserve our admiration." Heroic demands *are* made on our priests. The "Curés d'Ars" in Brazil, who are martyrs to their pastoral work, can be counted by dozens. If holiness exists somewhere in the Church, I can assure you that we have it in Brazil. I stress *in Brazil*—the only Portuguese-speaking nation in the Southern hemisphere, big as all the others taken together, bigger than the U.S.—and as such we resent American ignorance of different conditions here.

It is not "numbers" that will save the Church: it wasn't numbers that built it. Once I asked a French priest (when the clergy in France were more numerous *per capita* than at present in the United States) what they did, and he answered *"nous vivons."* We certainly need priests, but it would be quite wrong to say that by simply multiplying their number all our problems will be solved (Father Gremillion's chief argument, as I gather).

Besides, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat,* and I myself have met Catholics with a very strong practice of the theological virtues who had hardly ever come across a priest. This presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church, in our colossal Brazil, which for the last four hundred years—since it was discovered—has had a very restricted clergy, explains why our forty million Catholics still keep their faith and love their Lord and Maker.

Father Gremillion rightly enough wants to "deepen mutual understanding," but if he wants us to react, he should try other tactics. If we have much to learn from the Church in North America, there are perhaps some things that the Church there could learn from us.

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I must add that the quotation marks about President Vargas' election in 1950 are entirely out of place. The elections in 1950 were free, and millions voted for Vargas. He did not succeed himself. General Dutra had been elected in 1945 and officiated for five years as constitutional president.

(*Rt. Rev.*) JOAQUIM NABUCO, P.A.

AUTHOR'S REPLY

New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: It was a privilege to receive Monsignor Nabuco's reaction to my article. I thank him for correcting my version of the regime of President Vargas. Monsignor Nabuco is of an ancient family with long-established connections in national affairs; in this political field I am his willing pupil.

That he might be nettled at my guntherized report is not surprising. I repeat: "With what diffidence I write about the Church in Latin America." I did not say the Church there was dying; I said, "it might be in some places." Such a place is, for example, the diocese of Valdivia, Chile, and my authority is the local Ordinary, Bishop José Manuel Santos. To quote the Bishop's own figures: 5.7 per cent attend Mass on the average Sunday; 2.8 per cent fulfill their Easter duty; forty-eight per cent do not attend Mass at all. Ninety-four per cent of the people are baptized, but only eighty-six per cent of the children are baptized, i.e., this generation is receiving less spiritual care than the past. In the see city of 65,000 people, on February 10, 1957, Catholics attending Mass numbered 3,317; Protestants attending church services on the same date numbered 2,552. No diocesan priest was ordained since 1950; in the interim six have died. Not I but the bishop of Valdivia says that the Church in his diocese will lose out in ten years unless it receives help.

If Monsignor Nabuco discounts such "numbers," many of the region's hierarchy do not. Not a few bishops responsible for souls are asking their brother bishops of the United States and Canada for assistance. If Monsignor Nabuco disagrees with this policy, he should take this up at home. By private letter I will suggest with whom he might discuss the matter in his own city and nation. What my article aims to say is this: Let us understand, and give their plea a sympathetic ear. A few quotes: "Our Latin brothers in the Faith today deserve our admiration. What heroic demands are made of most priests there as compared to what is demanded of me—and of our American clergy in general, through no merit of our own. . . . Let us refrain from holier-than-thou, finger-pointing at today's bishops and clergy, teachers, parents and lay leaders in Latin America."

Archbishop Cushing of Boston has announced that fourteen priests of his diocese have volunteered for work in Lima, Peru. Archbishop Juán Landazuri Ricketts of Lima is delighted. In June of this year he was in Chicago attending the Serra Convention and made pleas for further assistance. This fall the Trappists of Worcester, Massachusetts, are establishing a foundation in Argentina with enthusiastic local support. The Dominicans of Chicago this year began staffing the Bolivian seminary. Two more priests have joined the St. Louis team at La Paz. And so it goes.

Certainly Monsignor Nabuco is not trying to dam such a healthy flow of life and love within the Church. If my expressions wounded national pride or lacked tact, I am sorry. I write as a private person; I trust he will not charge the Church in the United States for a possible personal affront.

The last sentence of the article summarizes my aim: "We of the Church in the United States must open our ears, extend our hearts and hands to these our brothers in the Faith, to become more perfectly with them the Body of Christ."

(*Rev.*) JOSEPH B. GREMILLION.

THE ANIMALS

At night, alone, the animals came and shone.
The darkness whirled but silent shone the animals:
The lion the man the calf the eagle saying
Sanctus which was and is and is to come.

The sleeper watched the people at the waterless
wilderness' edge;
The wilderness was made of granite, of thorn, of
death,
It was the goat which lightened the people praying.
The goat went out with sin on its sunken head.

On the sleeper's midnight and the smaller after
hours
From above below elsewhere there shone the
animals
Through the circular dark; the cock appeared in
light
Crying three times, for tears for tears for tears.

High in the frozen tree the sparrow sat. At three
o'clock
The luminous thunder of his fall fractured the
earth.
The somber serpent looped its coils to write
In scales the slow snake-music of the red ripe
globe.

To the sleeper, alone, the animals came and shone,
The darkness whirled but silent shone the animals.
Just before dawn the dove flew out of the dark
Flying with green in her beak; the dove also had
come.

JOSEPHINE JACOBSEN.

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The Art, the Thought and the Person of Claudel

CLAUDEL. By Wallace Fowlie. Hillary House. $2.

By RICHARD GILMAN

CLAUDEL has been dead more than three years and we are still trying to fit him into our categories, or create a new one for him. What stands out in the critical maneuvers that have been going on in this most disputed territory of recent poetry is the low caliber of the ammunition. Everyone talks about Claudel's ideas, but almost no one has tested their poetic success or failure within his work or given the latter the close, intent, textual scrutiny we have come to expect. In this little book, part of the *Studies in Modern European Literature and Thought* series, Wallace Fowlie, one of Claudel's real champions, stays within the tradition of the "old" criticism.

This isn't to say that his book has little value, for it has a great deal. A very lucid and spare introduction to Claudel's person, art and thought, it is also a minor contribution to the theory of poetry, based on Claudel's practice of it. If Mr. Fowlie doesn't satisfy on the level I've mentioned, if he assumes Claudel's greatness rather than demonstrates it, this is no doubt because he had one thing in mind and not another, and we can surely be respectful of that. What he has given us is a complete outline of Claudel's motifs, his development and his esthetic theory.

Claudel, Mr. Fowlie says, after tracing his progress from the influences of Baudelaire and Rimbaud through that of Mallarmé and sketching in the Thomistic elements in Claudel's thought, regarded the poet as an imitator of Creation, who works through metaphor and analogy at the task of deciphering the universe, proclaims the interrelatedness of phenomena ("How I love those millions of things which exist together," Claudel wrote) and erects a bridge between the natural and supernatural worlds.

Claudel's personal and creative tension is that of the conflict between the flesh and spirit, but unlike such quasi-Jansenists as Graham Greene and François Mauriac, the resolution he achieves is a joyous one. Bold, robust, disturbing to the orthodox, he declares with Augustine, that "sin, too, serves," and celebrates in the ordeal of passionate love the principle of renunciation that leads to transcendence.

"Taken as a whole, his work is praise to God and praise to His creation," Mr. Fowlie writes. "It does not reflect the exaltation of a mystic, but it is rather the expression of the natural joy of a man who has found an order in the universe and believes in a certain relationship between this world and eternity."

Mr. Fowlie's examination of Claudel's poetry is mainly concerned with how clearly it reveals this theoretic basis, but his study of Claudel's theater is more complete. He gives us a thorough analysis of the plays, concentrating on *Partage de Midi* and *The Satin Slipper*. Yet even here the examination is concerned with motif and idea rather than with dramatic structure or craft, so that it is difficult to see, from this chapter alone, why Claudel's theater is as revolutionary as some of us know it to be.

Finally Mr. Fowlie discusses Claudel as apologist, as Biblical exegete and as personality—the battering-ram Catholic who made Gide wince, the patriarch who seemed to have roots in a soil contiguous with that of Saint Joan, the contemporary misfit who yet managed on his own terms to belong.

Mr. Fowlie leaves no doubt that he considers Claudel to be among the greatest of contemporary writers, a mountain who may yet become a landmark (Claudel once wrote that he wished to create a "new Catholic imagination and sensibility"). If the mountain hasn't yet been scaled, Fowlie has at least done some preliminary work: he has charted its position, made a personal estimate of its height and —a useful thing—announced to us that, if we should wish to climb it ourselves, it is there.

Strange and Shocking Tragedy

NO LONGER HUMAN. By Osamu Dazai. Translated by Donald Keene. New Directions. $3.50.

By NORA MAGID

IN the prologue to this Japanese novel, we are told that three photographs remain of the protagonist. At ten, he is a grinding monkey, with clenched fists and an ugly smirk, who conveys to the onlooker nothing but vague horror. In the second photograph, he is a handsome student, with an adroit little mockery smile, and an expression of artifice. In the third, the face is dying; it is so much on its way towards dissolution that it chills the examiner by failing to leave even a memory. One may look again and again, but the face is written in water.

The three parts of the notebook —the novel proper—correspond to the three faces in the pictures. Yozo, who keeps his journal in the first person, is assuredly one of the damned. From childhood on, he knows with resigned matter-of-factness that he is driven to the brink of lunacy by his lack of connection with the human race. He does not understand people. He has not the faintest inkling, even intellectually, of what his neighbors or his family feel. Protective instinct leads him then to play the clown, to make others laugh as a means of defense. He subscribes to a dozen children's magazines so that he may learn his role by memorizing the anecdotes, the pieces that he will tell his audiences. Methodically and gradually, he is able to

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perfect his identity: he *is* a clown, incapable of real communication, incapable of choice. He sees through others as if they were transparent. Their motivations, insincerities, mistakes are clear, but they are meaningless to him.

As an adolescent he is even more knowing and studied and isolated. He plays the fool, his face "clothed in the gentle beguiling smile of the false Christian." A schoolmate frightens him by seeing suddenly through him, and when Yozo, to appease him, buys him off with feigned friendship, Takeichi announces that many women will become involved with him, and that he will exercise his talent as a cartoonist—mimesis on all levels is all he knows—as a professional painter, rather than a civil servant, as his conforming family demands. Given his quicksilver quality, it is natural that he should slide into degeneration.

When he escapes from home, it is into a larger world of decaying values. The society which he elects is as much in flux as he himself. "I soon understood that drink, tobacco and prostitutes were all excellent means of dissipating, (even for a few moments) my dread of human beings." And even though he knows that there is something inexplicable in men which is not reducible to economics, he dallies with the Communists, who in their way are as much outcast as he. A woman loses her life in a suicide pact in which he is rescued, but so fragile is the link between them that he cannot remember even her name. "The weak fear happiness itself. They can harm themselves on cotton wool."

In a Russian novel, a young man so obviously disoriented could find others with whom he could be in mourning for his life. In an American novel, with motivation so clearly spelled out, he might perhaps overcompensate for his alienation by applying his talents doggedly and becoming a ruthless professional success. But Yozo's life is all of a piece. A failure as a child, a brother, a lover—though women recognize him as "a man who can keep a love secret"—he must also needs be a failure as an artist. His capitulation to total degradation—through drugs—is swift and complete. He is put away. At twenty-seven, already gray and already near death, he is finally, literally, the outcast he has always felt himself to be. From infancy he has been "disqualified as a human being," the outsider, one of those observers who suffer not through the ties that bind, but through the measureless distances imposed by their curiously frozen natures.

The angle of vision shifts suddenly in the epilogue, when a woman, one of those with whom he has been so casually involved, lets us know unexpectedly that "even though he did drink—he was a good boy, an angel." Once again, things are seldom what they seem. This man, who saw himself as possessed of the devil, who never felt himself loving or loved, whose life was one of introspective torment, was after all in the eyes of at least some of the others a lovable and a good man. This delicate irony indicates a waste even more profound than Yozo knew. His strange and shocking tragedy is complete.

Fool, Rogue, Philosopher

THE GINGER MAN. By J. P. Donleavy. McDowell, Obolensky. $3.95.

By THOMAS F. CURLEY

WHEN A writer as strong as Mr. Donleavy comes along it is well to begin with a quotation. This is the concluding paragraph of his book:

"He was walking down the slope side of the bridge past this broken building, a straight dark figure and stranger. Come here till I tell you. Where is the sea high and the winds soft and moist and warm, sometimes stained with sun, with peace so wild for wishing where all is told and telling. On a winter night I heard horses on a country road, beating sparks out of the stones. I knew they were running away and would be crossing the fields where the pounding would come up into my ears. And I said they are running out to death which is with some soul and their eyes are mad and teeth out.

God's mercy
On the wild
Ginger Man."

The straight dark figure is Sebastian Dangerfield, an American out of Iowa, come to Ireland on the G. I. Bill to read law at Trinity. He has an English wife and a baby girl, Felicity, who does not make him happy. What Dangerfield wants, rather what he says he wants, is a lot of money, idleness and the respect due his dignity. He reminds one of his girl friends that Sebastian means Venerable and, when a bartender refuses him a drink on the grounds that he's had too many already, the Ginger Man proceeds to another bar, has several too many, then returns to the first one where he makes a fair attempt at mayhem before leading members of the Dublin constabulary on a dash through the streets.

A rogue and a fool, an improvident father, unfaithful husband and impious son, Dangerfield is worth knowing for more reasons than Donleavy's style and Dangerfield's zestful roguery. The Ginger Man likes and wants money, but he is not a miser; he relishes a plenty of good food and drink, but is not a glutton; he enjoys women but is not a lecher. Unlike almost all of Balzac's characters, for example, Dangerfield's appetites never become vices. He does not even have an occupation. Even Joyce Cary's Gulley Jimson, whom Dangerfield resembles somewhat in his unabashed selfishness, was possessed by a need to paint. The one thing Dangerfield has to do is talk. When nobody else is about he talks to himself. And yet the longer one listens the more appropriate seems Kierkegaard's sentence: "The surest of stubborn silences is not to hold one's tongue but to talk." Dangerfield is hard to get at because nothing he says or does is truly characteristic of him. What is, then?

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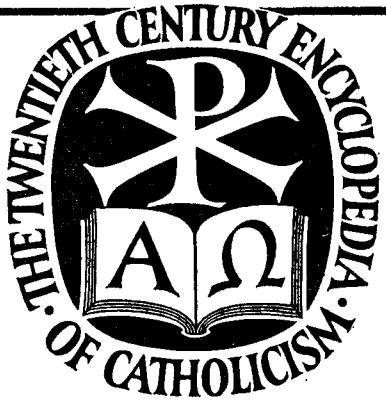

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In his introduction Arland Ussher tells us that Dangerfield has the sense of the Absurd "which is despair refusing to take itself seriously." He sees the irony of his situation as in the past only vagabonds and pariahs did. And the Absurd, Ussher goes on, may well be the "first premise" of a new, post-Christian civilization. A second verdict was provided in a recent article in the N. Y. *Times* where Norman Podhoretz remarked that *The Ginger Man* "comments dramatically on the absurdities of an age clinging to values in which it simply cannot believe and unable to summon up the courage to find out what its moral convictions really are."

Neither this criticism nor Ussher's theorizing helps very much. Reading Ussher, one gets the impression that Nietzsche might just as well have stayed sane and that Dostoevsky should not have bothered to create a Kirilov who would kill himself. Kirilov asserts his aseity by dying. Poor fellow. He might have started a new civilization. But taken seriously, the absurd describes a relationship between man and the world. Man wants what he cannot have and knows that he cannot have it. He wants life and gets death; he wants meaning and gets nonsense—or statistics. I suppose one could use such a condition as the first premise of a new civilization but I need only state the obvious: the absurd does not exist when it is agreed to.

Donleavy writes of Sebastian Dangerfield and O'Keefe, the Boston Irish classicist, of Percy Cocklan, Marion, the wife, and of Christine, Miss Frost and Mary, her successors to Dangerfield's arms. These people can be taken as representative of an age that does not know what its moral convictions are. They haven't the courage to discover what they believe. But, in spite of their free speech and violent actions, neither of these statements suggests that moral convictions are completely absent.

Any fool can discover enough moral convictions to get him respectably through life. Sebastian Dangerfield, the fool-rogue, is admirable and interesting because he does not develop or discover any radical moral convictions. He clings, but not absurdly, to the old, old values of food, drink and flesh. These do not satisfy him ultimately (he is not that sort of fool) but he does not whine about it. He is not serious, but he is silent, a stranger. In the absence of Faith, it requires courage to live without substitutes, without churlish hope or subservience to that most contemptible of tyrants, the Spirit of the Age.

Fateful Days

JULY 4, 1776. By Donald Barr Chidsey. Crown. $3.

By JOHN COURNOS

IN THE "Ten Days That Shook the World," Lenin shouted at a crowd: "They [the Allies] will come at us with bayonets, but we will fling pamphlets at them!" Pamphlets there were, to be sure;

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but there were also imprisonments, and tortures, and executions.

All this, by way of extreme contrast, repeatedly recurred to me as I went on reading this fascinating little book in which Mr. Chidsey recounts the story of the four fateful days in which were accomplished great things, whose influence goes on reverberating to this very day. The delegates of the Second Continental Congress who met in the lovely large white room in the State House in Philadelphia were sober, neatly dressed, responsible men. "There were no Marats among them, no Kropotkins, or Lenins," says Mr. Chidsey. They were not "hot-eyed fanatics yammering for an explosion." Indeed many of them were by no means sure that they would vote for independence. And some, at the beginning, were actually opposed to it.

The room in which the delegates met was made secure against eavesdroppers. The door was locked. The tall handsome windows were shut, save for a little at the top to let some air in. The room was hot, heavy with the solemnity of a gathering of men weighted down with responsibility, conscious of the possible consequences of their momentous decisions. There were interminable speeches, endless repetitions of the same arguments, pro and con, inducing boredom. Those, however, who came with the idea of declaring independence had one powerful ally: King George III. There was no getting around him.

And so the members of that memorable Congress—not all, by any means—rose to the occasion, after painful dissensions, and voted for a Declaration of Independence. There was at least one dramatic interlude, when Caesar Rodney, an ailing man, who might have eased his agony by going to England for medical and surgical attention, came riding from Dover, in Delaware, to cast his vote for independence: "Emaciated, he looked like a man who was dying. His doctor said that he was. Yet he had ridden all night over muddy roads, most of the time in the rain, eighty miles from Dover, pushing his horse to the utmost to get there on time."

John Adams, who "had surely done as much as anyone to bring it about," might have written the Declaration. However, he suggested that Thomas Jefferson, as a writer and a Virginian, should do it. And he did. He was to wince more than once as the Congress deliberated on the text, changing a word here and a word there, now and again deleting a phrase and substituting another. As Mr. Chidsey says, the document was considerably improved by the changes. Those sober, somberly clad men knew the language and the meaning of words and they produced a masterpiece.

No limelight of publicity attending the event. Actually, some of the signatures to the Declaration were added only later, and it was days before celebrations were held. Even in Philadelphia, the Declaration was not read in public before July 8. But the words "All men are created equal" and they have "certain inalienable Rights. . . among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" may be expected to echo down the centuries and give hope to people who are enduring the torments imposed upon them by tyrants in the name of ideals bereft of God and common sense.

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